/VI cont./

I thank my friend and colleague, Dr. Dall'Igna Rodrigues, for important suggestions given to me in connection with completing this monograph and for the appendix of comparative linguistic material /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/.

I am also deeply grateful to my co-workers at the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte, who contributed so much to the fashioning of the present work. They are Herr Dr. Herbert Tischner, who helped me with advice and experience in the printing, Fräulein Dascha Detering, who made the drawings and the map with great care and who independently worked out the textile techniques presented in this work; also Herr Hans Cantzler, who photographed a number of objects and made enlargements of my photographs.

In conclusion I should like to thank Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Freudenthal and my wife for their tireless help in reading proof, and the printing firm J. J. Augustin for their excellent technical work on the present book.

The ethnographic collections are in the possession of the Museu Paulista, São Paulo, and the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte. All the inventory numbers in the index of figures and illustrations are those of the specimens in the Hamburg Museum.

Hamburg, Christmas 1959. Hans Becher

/VII/

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Surára Pakidái

/81/

Designation of the Surára and Pakidái:	Designation of the regional caboclo population:
pakatarimã	pacovão
kuratś pauximí	inajś
nakaximí	São Tomé roxa
rokojś	São Tomé branca
rokomã	banana maçã (?)
parauś	caité
roćrenvõkʔkõ	banana bajé
xiahíma	Banana govêrno (375)

375. Unfortunately, I could not carry out a botanical classification of these varieties.

With the help of a digging stick made from the wood of the pupunha palm and 1.60-1.80 meters long, which has a flattened point at the lower end (Ill. 38), or a broken bow-staff, cuttings of banana trees are planted in the clearing, and after only a few months they are full-grown and bear fruit. The work of planting as well as the care of the plants falls to the men, while the women help only with the harvest (376).

376. Among the Waikś, the plants are cared for by men and women (Zerries, 1956b, p. 153).

Besides the banana, the pupunha palm (Guilielma speciosa Mart.) -- komunamś -- is cultivated to a considerable extent. Cuttings are used for planting, but occasionally seeds as well. These palms, which always stand between the bananas, give the clearings of the Surára and Pakidái a characteristic stamp (Ill. 37). The trunk, 18-20 meters tall, which is covered with pointed thorns -- mímicibś -- and can therefore be climbed only

Surára
Pakidái

/88 cont./

123
276

434. (cont.)
servant Mateus and I were thereafter dependent on the cultivated tobacco of the Indians, which, however, was so strong that we simply could not enjoy it. Mateus, however, had the happy idea of washing the tobacco several times and then he let it dry in the sun. Since we had plenty of cigarette paper with us, we were not obliged to give up our customary enjoyment of cigarettes. We could never have become accustomed to sucking out the tobacco, for every attempt resulted in retching.

276 The narcotic snuff powder, similar to yopo or paricá, is made up of various ingredients, of which I was able to identify, besides the roasted and pulverized paricá seed (Piptadenia peregrina Benth.), the ashes of the burned bark of a wild species of mimosa (Mimosa acacioides?) -- hekurâhihenâ -- (435), as

[192]
[776]
[787]

435. This, it should be noted, contains the word with which the gigantic animal and plant spirits are called -- hekurâ -- with which the men are able to make contact only by means of the snuff powder.

well as a cultivated pepper plant /89/ (Piperacea sp.) -- maxarahâ -- (436) (437).

[192]
[184]

436. Zerries found the same combination among the Waikâ, and even the names for the pepper plant are almost identical; the Waikâ call it "masho hara." The bark of the mimosa, in which Zerries suspects there is an alkaloid, is, however, used only in the dried or roasted state (Zerries, 1956b, p. 154).

• [126]

437. Herr Prof. Dr. Klaus Soehring of the

/89 cont./

276
• 126

437. (cont.)
Pharmakologischen Institut der Universität Hamburg is at present still analyzing the powder that I brought back. The result is to be published later in an article.

276
[463]
[415]

Exactly like the arrow poison, this powder is made only by certain men. It is stored in bamboo tubes -- tõra -- (Fig. 28a) which are closed with leaves. Before prayers, on the occasion of big festivals, and before curing the sick, in which several men take part, besides the chief, the powder is poured on a large clay plate left by the Xiriâna. From here it is then packed into the bamboo snuff-tube 60-70 centimeters long, on one end of which is glued by means of tree resin a perforated, longish palm nut (Fig. 28b). At the free end the nut is sharpened to a point so that the man wishing to take snuff can insert it into one nostril. From the other end /Fig. 28 appears here/ of the tube, a friendly fellow-tribesman, with partly bent knees, blows the powder with all of his might into the man's nose (Ill. 44).

123
276

After only a few minutes the snuff-taker falls into an inconceivable state of intoxication, in which he rages, screams, sings, dances, and leaps about (Ills. 45, 46). Since I was obliged, after my adoption into the tribe of the Surára, to submit to this usage also, I am in a position to describe the effect in detail. I should like to point out briefly here that immediately afterwards I developed a splitting headache and felt a strong desire to vomit, exactly like the youths making their first acquaintance with this drug. But shortly after that a strange reaction took place within me, for I felt myself to be a giant among giants. All the human beings near me, as well as dogs and parrots, suddenly seemed to be giants. This effect, which is caused by the alkaloids in the powder, is closely connected with the conceptions of gigantic animal and plant spirits (see pp. 201/201).

/101 cont./

755 me, contact with the hekurá would not be broken. Toward 4:30, the rain had stopped in the meantime, the nine men once more gathered around the sick woman and continued the cure for another two hours in the manner described above. By forenoon the fever was gone and the woman was on the way to recovery. She and every other member of the tribe were convinced that Hewemão had hurled the evil spirit of sickness, nonexí, back to the Waikâ. Even Hewemão himself firmly believes that in the snuff-powder intoxication and with the help of the hekurá and the moon he is able to ward off sickness and accidents and to cast them out.

/102/ The two above-described magic performances for warding off two different diseases show a certain external pattern. Each cure begins with the taking of snuff-powder, which causes the chief and his helpers to fall into a state of ecstasy and to identify themselves with the hekurá. There follows the invocation of the hekurá, which is reinforced by wild gestures, then the sham struggle between two or more "hekurá" and the spirit of sickness, "nonexí." After that, very definite texts, melodies, and dances are used for each sickness. Unforgettable [533] for me are the choral part-songs which contain the requests to the hekurá and the serras, who, in turn, relay them to Porê/Perimbó (see pp. 197 ff.) (503).

• [126]

503. I deeply regret that I was unable to record these songs on a sound track. Unfortunately, the tape recorder which the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft had sent by courier to the German Consulate in São Paulo before the start of my expedition was damaged by an employee there. Without permission, he had unpacked it and tinkered with it. Thus, I can only hope that on a subsequent expedition I shall have an opportunity to record these songs.

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

101 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as
114 Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have con-
128 sidered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Xamatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

● 126 The linguistic material which the author of the present
192 work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 In order to classify this material within the different
192 Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others
174 belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we
197 established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabu-
197 laries were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the
174 Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956,
126 pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73
127 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

4: Wilbert--50 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Chibcha SC11 Sanema Warao SS18 Bari SS 13

/198/ Cariban Ind. SR7

Y 114 ● 126 143

At the beginning of the year 1961 I had an opportunity, together with Dr. Layrisse, to visit the Waica of the upper Orinoco, where we went with the intention of taking blood samples of that group. We obtained 140 individual samples, which, in all probability, are representative for the Yanoama in general. We shall now report an interesting genetic discovery.

Y 143

The Waica showed a complete absence of the gene Diego (Di^a). As we reported before (Layrisse, Wilbert, 1960), the antigen Diego is an exclusively Mongoloid genetic marker, but, in spite of the fact that it occurs solely in populations called "Mongoloid," it does not appear in all of them. There are Diego-positive Mongoloids and Diego-negative Mongoloids. Gradual differences of frequency between one Mongoloid population and another have also been observed. Up to the present the scale of frequency varies between 0 and 50%.

4C 8 [143]

The Waica are one of the Diego-negative Mongoloid populations, and the tribes of South America in the same category are: the Tunebo, Barí (Motilones Bravos), and Warao. Other groups with very low incidence could be included in this category also, since the low frequency they showed for the gene can be better explained by the crossing of a population originally negative with another one highly positive. A representative of the latter group is the tribe of the Yaruro.

Y CI 143 197

During the six years of research on the Diego gene we made an observation which we consider to be of importance, which is: the various frequency groups of the Diego antigen correspond to different linguistic affinities. The most carefully studied case is that of the Caribe. We examined more than ten tribes and subtribes and they all show an average of 28% of the Di^a gene. In this case the Caribe lingnistic affinity is indicatory for a positive incidence of the Di^a gene. It is understood, of course, that there is no causal relationship between these two facts and that its observation is not to be interpreted in the sense that we are trying to make a chromosome responsible for a given cultural trait. The two factors are essentially different, but their parallel appearance is an interesting fact.

/213 cont./

793 624 [622] For reasons of a religious nature, which we shall explain later on, the priest (who may be the chief in many cases) may not participate actively in a war; in these cases the one in command is the "war chief," who in peacetime is one among many in the society, but automatically assumes his power during the dangers of hostilities.

554 There is one man whom all fear. He is the "guapo" /the daring one/. We do not understand his function in the society, but his actions are violent and sanction-passive /pasivas de sanción/ in extreme cases.

554 123 During the first few days of our visit, he gave us the impression of being truly crazy, but we later came to realize that, although mentally /214/ sane, his effrontery is carried to extremes. By way of greeting he aimed an arrow at our throats, danced like a person possessed, and for a whole day he amused himself by walking around us in circles with his arrow constantly [276] aimed and ready to shoot. From noon on he was under the intoxicating influence of "yopo" and his conduct was applauded by some and censured by the others. The chief, with whom we spent most of the day, paid no attention to what was being done to us and was very little concerned.

554 775 There was also a guapo in the Erebato group, and one of our informants explained to us that those "people" are predestined to live together with certain species of animal underground after [841] their death. There they will remain alone in the company of those women who concealed their menstruation and were, as a [126] result, swallowed up by the earth. A boy of Canaracuni made [532] for us a drawing of Omao above the path of the sun and of the moon and of the earth. Under the earth he painted a man sitting on a rock and surrounded by animals: he was the guapo. 1/1

554 From the information we have in our notes we deduce the possibility that these are not isolated cases, but that the guapo may represent a social type who fills an institutional position with its own fixed duties and functions. A guapo of Erebato was not allowed to participate in the ceremony of gathering the bones of his father, because upon the death of his progenitor he had killed a child and they were afraid that grief might again cause

1/1 [see p. 71-An.]

/224 cont./

793 778 628 [776] other, for they would begin to fight each other until one of them lay inert on the ground, exhausted and overcome. But they do not kill each other. Only in the house of Omao may all the hɛ̃wĩawán gather with their hĩkula-dĩb.

793 778 775 The hĩkula-dĩb of a priest act exclusively in his rancheria, in other words, in the rancheria of the priest who figures in the house of Omao as the representative of his particular terrestial community, and for this reason more than one priest is unnecessary. In the section of the illustrations one can see the

532 793 778 775 126 hikuladɛ̃ of a priest, drawn by one of our informants. One sees there five hĩkula-dĩb, or souls of ancestors of the group in which the priest acts. The uppermost figure represents fever. In the center one can see a quadrangular figure which is a house. One of the beings who is inside it is the priest, but what can be seen on the left side is a coleopteran, a scarab. Under the house is seen the heart of the priest.

The informant, after having drawn the figure, insisted emphatically that we tear it up, and he suffered some anguish for having given it to us. After several days had passed, I took him the drawing in order to ask for more details and found him

532 793 778 775 126 825 calm and unworried. The reason for suffering this anguish is based on the belief that a Sanemá must never speak of the insect of the house of the hikuladɛ̃. As a matter of fact our informant never mentioned its name. I identified the insect as a scarab on the basis of the descriptions that he gave us and because it was not the first time that I had heard the scarab or other coleopterans mentioned as a supernatural being in South American ethnology.

171 773 825 778 Such is the belief of the Lengua of the Gran Chaco, who affirm that the Great Scarab created the universe and peopled it with spirits and men. The Toba, also of the Chaco, call it payak, a name which means spirit; and it is interesting with regard to the hĩkuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá priest to note the Mataco custom of attributing a supernatural power to a maraca /gourd rattle/ with sacred beetles (Metraux, 1946d, pp. 350, 352, 353, 367). The similarity between the hikuladɛ̃ of the Sanemá and the "sacred maraca" of many South American tribes is very symptomatic.

7 [See p. 70 - -Analyst]

/225 cont./ The Sanemá say that the
793 hɛwīawán kills vultures and sparrow hawks on his travels (Becher,
825 1960, p. 96). As we have already explained in another section of this chapter, the Sanemá believe that the eagle and other birds of prey are "men" who can be killed only if they belong to an enemy tribe.

793 The hikulaɛ offers the priest the possibility of flying to the
798 house of Omao. In order that I might understand him better and
[796] not doubt his veracity, the native making the drawing fixed a
[126] propeller to the mysterious sphere. One might say that the
[795] hɛwīawán is carrying the soul of a dead person to the house of Omao.

756 The second religious practitioner of the Sanemá is a shaman, who is called sablí. The supernatural world over which he has power is different from the world of the priest, and therefore his function is different from that of the former.

[533] In order to become a shaman, the candidate must submit to a very rigorous training under the guidance of an old sablí who knows how to sing the "Great Kɛɛ."

756 /226/ During the period of apprenticeship, which lasts
276 several weeks, the candidate takes yopo continually through a
262 tube or simply with the hand, eats very little and only the food
515 prescribed; he does not bathe and almost does not speak. Among
123 the Waica of the Upper Orinoco I saw a group of these candidates who gave me a depressing impression since they showed prolonged suffering as a result of the consumption of the drug. We were not able to speak with them, and we were not allowed to take blood samples from them as we did with the other members of the rancheria.

756 It seems that all the men are potentially sablíes, but
533 among them there are some who are very strong and others who
794 are weak, and only the strongest ones are able to sing the "kɛɛ" well. This song is rendered by the sablí at the end of his period of instruction, when the candidates are prepared and ready to receive the híkulas, or "specific vital principles" of the species of flora and fauna, with the exception of fish. As soon as they hear the call of their master, they obey and go toward his locality, where they find the sablí candidate waiting for them to enter his

BLOOD GROUP STUDIES

The Material

Blood samples were taken from 142 less closely related individuals living in six settlements situated along the banks of the upper Orinoco and Mavaca rivers in the Territorio Amazonas of southern Venezuela. We started to take samples at the Mission of Boca del Ocamo and continued along the Orinoco until we reached the confluence with the Mavaca River and then continued up the Mavaca until we arrived at the settlements called Boca Mavaca and Laguna Mavaca.

The blood samples were analyzed for the following antibodies:

(1) anti-A, anti-A_1, and anti-B for the A_1 A_2 BO system
(2) anti-M, anti-N, anti-S, and anti-s for the MNSs systems
(3) Anti-P_1 (previously called anti-P), and anti-P, anti-P_1 (previously called anti-Tj^a) for the P system
(4) anti-D, anti-C, anti-c, anti-E, anti-e, and anti-$hr^{'}$ for the Rh system
(5) anti-Lu^a for the Lutheran system
(6) anti-K and anti-k for the Kell system
(7) anti-Le^a for the Lewis system
(8) anti-Fy^a for the Duffy system. Anti-Fy^b was only used in cases Fy(-)
(9) anti-Jk^a and Jk^b for the Kidd system
(10) anti-Di^a for the Diego system

Electrophoretic studies of the hemoglobins and haptoglobins were performed by Dr Tulio Arends who will report the results separately.

Results

A_1A_2BO: All samples were group O as was expected, because of the recency of contact with White and Negro.

MNSs: The gene M showed a high frequency (79%) as is usual for the majority of Indian tribes. The gene S was relatively low (19%) travelling mostly with the gene M.

Rh: The outstanding finding in this system was the high frequency of the chromosome R_o (DCE), (18%), and the low frequency of the chromosome R_2 (DcE), (6%), of which no homozygous sample was found; the frequency was deduced from the phenotype samples DCcEe. As expected, all cases were Rho(±) and no sample was found in which the presence of the chromosomes *r* or Ro could be presumed. Absence of the rh^o was observed in all

13a Shapiro, 1960.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

123 that it might have shot up into the air out of the towering rocks of the sierra. This time it almost skimmed the treetops, but once again it did not land. A plane of such size—it had two motors—would never have been able to touch down on the Kirisochi strip, and certainly would not have been able to take off from it again. It flew over the camp a second time and dropped a bottle containing a laconic message to the effect that a landing was out of the question, but that the following week a single-engined plane would pay us a visit instead. For the present, the note added, the pilot would make one more flight over the camp. If we were in dire need of anything, we were to raise both hands. If not, only one.

The main point of the plane's coming was really only to bring us supplies —and at the moment we were suffering no particular shortage—and to provide transport back for Jean, our American girl, and eventually for Artur, the German. When it made the third run in, we raised one hand only, and the pilot dropped us a bag of comforts, our mail, and a sack containing twenty pounds of potatoes. No doubt this was meant as compensation for his inability to land. It certainly helped to break the monotony of our diet.

123 All this time, Enrico and I were getting on with the scenario of our film. 126 We took a few background scenes and shots of Indians, who were now coming and going daily. Our film was to be a documentary, about an expedition similar to our own which encountered the Makiritari and the Shirians: it then proceeded, following some darkly mysterious hints dropped by these tribes, to the Valley of Death—or the Valley of Cold, or maybe the Valley of the Devil —in which there was a stream full of diamonds. These duly gathered in we brought our expedition back via the Merevari rapids through all the glories of a Technicolor sunset. Of course there was hunting, fishing, canoeing and nature in the raw. This should have lent a certain interest quite independently of the diamonds, but the diamonds were a cinema 'must', and so we got to work on the bottle dropped by the plane. We ground it up between two stones, and there was our fabulous heap of precious, gleaming stones. But we weren't altogether satisfied with the results of this grinding process, and began to wonder whether our 'diamonds' would pass muster. The Casaracuni must have shared our doubts, for a month later we had an accident with the boat and the canisters of film we had shot went to the bottom, where they were washed clean.

120 Pedro had settled for quarters near us, but not inside the hut itself, which

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

little hand, once fashionable in Europe, would probably have made an ideal present for him.

One day, however, a boy passed in front of him, dragging a great sheaf of palm leaves. The Senator stretched out his hand to touch them, as if making sure they were of good quality.

'The Senator has touched the leaves!' I shouted to the others, and from that moment anything The Senator did marked a red-letter day in our calendar.

But at home he was not a figure of quite the same dignity. His back-scratching stick was now replaced by one of the machetes which his tribe had received in payment from us. However, his smile when he saw us again made up for everything—even for that rash behaviour when he had broken the mystic spell of his immobility by stretching out his hand to touch the palm leaves.

We treated the usual cases of worms among the children and one or two not very serious sores, and then returned to the beach, where Jean was waiting for us with Caio and Sempronio. Two days later we were once more at Llantarigña, on our way to the Uarema settlement to make a retake of some film shots we thought we had lost in our recent shipwreck.

The *meris* were beautifully ripe on the Merevari banks, and at Llantarigña there was a gigantic tree, which Sempronio climbed like a monkey. From his perch on high he threw the fruit down to us, but not before he had sampled the best of them, chuckling and exclaiming in his delight. The *meri* is the red and fleshy fruit of the cashew nut tree. Common in tropical America, it is known on the lower Amazon as the *maraõa*. Besides the juicy pulp, there is also the kernel which once freed from the bitter oil which impregnates it can be made into an excellent almond cake, as it is in Guiana.

When we had eaten our fill of these fruits, we decided to sacrifice the tree in order to re-take a scene for our film. We had been puzzling over it and so far had found no satisfactory solution. The scene called for a beautiful tree falling into still water. A tree with fiery red fruits, which would make a tremendous splash. Several Indians would then jump in after the fruits as the current began to sweep them away. This venerable *meri* tree at Llantarigña seemed ideal for the purpose, both in its structure and its position, and we worked on it with our axes for an hour, while I myself, strategically placed with the camera, waited for the big scene. But when the tree did come down the Indians were all on top of me, hurrying out of the way of its fall, so that the foreground of the picture was thick with figures dancing about in clumsy

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

agitation. This experience decided us to scrap the whole scene and to substitute for it one of an explorer gazing into the blue.

At the *malocs*, as the settlement of a native tribe is called in Venezuela, we should be able to re-take some of the scenes we had lost. It would be a two or three days' job. But unexpected difficulties cropped up. In the first place we had nothing left to give the 'cast' and even the most primitive Indian will not do anything for nothing. Then there was a fresh difficulty. When we opened the cases to set up our cine-camera the Indians held a brief discussion among themselves and then went off as if they were all suddenly afraid. We called together all our old actors who had taken part so enthusiastically the time before, but even they refused with a 'but'—which meant 'no', very curtly and decisively pronounced. Luis Antonio explained how matters stood, wearing that malicious smile which he assumed as a defensive mask every time the occasion arose for him to state an Indian opinion which contrasted with our own. We realized that he was for ever on tenterhooks between our own 'rationality' and assurance and the ideas of his own race, which may have been ridiculous at times but were nevertheless deep-seated and instinctive.

By looking into the sights of a cine-camera, people can see themselves so reduced in size that they are smaller than insects. This fact was not lost on the Guayca Indians. At first, it amused them: sending them into savage shrieks of laughter. But then a great thought had occurred to somebody: if the machine could so reduce them in size, it would have the same effect on their strength too —and they would be left defenceless.

It was now clear that we were up to no good. We were turning them into tinies, so as to be able to conquer them with no trouble at all. This was an unexpected blow to us. We could do nothing but give up and move on, much to the amusement of the youngsters who thronged round us—if there was any fun to be had, trust them never to be far away, even if they didn't know what all the excitement was about.

Convincing them that the cinema apparatus was harmless took a long, long time. We showed them that we ourselves were not haunted by the fear of being dwarfed: one of us would strike a pose in front of the camera while another operated it, and go right up close enough to touch the lens. Gradually the air cleared, their spirits rose and they began to grin and laugh, until even the suspicions of the most grudging were lulled. Luis Antonio, always capricious but nevertheless ready and willing to help when we were really in need of him,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

not only let us take his picture but begged us to take it again, with his wife beside him. Then he caused general merriment by posing beside the 'public woman' who was painted and dolled up like a bird of paradise. In a third take, he stood between the two women, caressing their breasts in an excess of zeal. At this, enthusiasm knew no bounds. Even Uaremu's brother, a venerable figure with his head crowned with the scars of old battles, burst into such a vehement laugh that he lost his horrible quid of tobacco. This change of mood enabled us to get on with our job. But our takes were often interrupted, for Uaremu had started a vogue and couples would come along and insist on being photographed in their full feather rig.

III

For our forthcoming river trips we were anxious to engage one of Luis Antonio's many brothers, who was apparently of the same age and had the reputation of being the tribe's most experienced traveller. To a certain extent he was even familiar with the Samatari on the other side of the cordillera. But his wife was expecting a child, so that he was prevented from going very far away from home. This seemed to us the most natural thing in the world. The wife was a tiny little lady, her only sign of maturity being her enormous belly, which very clearly did not owe its size to the swelling caused by internal parasites, the privileged possession of these women and children. Without this evidence of pregnancy she might have been taken for a girl of ten.

'The birth will come any day now,' Luis Antonio told us. 'But my brother won't be able to start straight away. He'll have to rest.'

We were reminded of the ritual of childbirth which with a few variations here and there is practised by all the Indians of tropical America. It affects the husbands as well as the wives and at bottom, in its way, contains a certain realism, characteristic of primitive peoples. Like us, they accept the principle of cause and effect and they do not really ascribe the pregnancy to strange half-magic phenomena. They know its cause for what it is—man, and his erotic acts. The effect, for them, is not in the woman herself: she is only a means, a vehicle. The true effect is the child. Up to this point, their attitude is no different from ours. The different point of view comes with the valuation placed by the Indians upon the cause after the effect has been produced. They see the role of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

*123 turn back at this point, for fear of the swollen river, we could not have stopped them.

'Tell them to turn their canoe and come along with us,' I shouted, with a confidence I was far from feeling. 'We'll all go and see the Samatari.'

There was a moment's silence, and then the three newcomers suddenly turned round and went ahead of us in their canoe. It was so dilapidated and out of shape that to tell the truth I was surprised it had stood up to the Merevari's fury till now.

'Solituan is a Samatari who has lived with us for a long, long time. We sent him ahead so that he could prepare his people for our coming, so as not to take them by surprise. But he was afraid of the Merevari and turned back.'

We now began to understand: the Indians, behaving in their usual way, had done everything in absolute secrecy. Solituan was a Samatari who lived with the Guayca. His very name, when once we came to think of it, meant in a general sense 'cousin or kinsman'. It indicated clearly that he was a guest, a friend. Narcissus was not a Guayca either, as Uarema now went on to tell us. He belonged to one of the Shirian tribes who live still further south than the Samatari, the Quadu-Dildep. He knew the region we should have to cross.

Thus the Uarema Indians had shown a perfect talent for organization in preparing for the trip. They had sent ahead a party uniquely qualified to smooth the way for us and advise the Samatari of our visit—thus averting the danger of the bearded visitors being ill-received because they'd appeared out of the blue. Yet in spite of all this wonderful staff work, these same Uarema had abandoned the journey without compunction, and were ready to leave the exploring party to its own fate in the forest, all for a caprice, because a sudden bout of lassitude coincided with the rainstorm. This fickle veering from 'let's go' at one minute to 'let's turn back' at the next is typical of primitive peoples. They act upon impulse, not conviction.

[126] We had just turned into the Uagua stream and I was filming the scene as our canoe advanced under the trailing lianas when the cine-camera gave a strange click and stopped. Water had seeped into the works at the time of our shipwreck and by now one of the springs had rusted away. Our hopes of bringing back a film of the Samatari had to be abandoned.

The dread gateway to the Samatari lands proved to be nothing more than a clearing which stopped short and led nowhere, for a heavy curtain of bamboo had come down on it, blocking the ancient path used by the savages. We had

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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thing they could ever have imagined. It was the first time a stranger had learned to articulate the explosive vocables of their savage, noisy tribe.

Unlike Makiritari and Pemontòn, languages of Carib origin with very frequent aspirates, the Shirian tongue is chanted rather than spoken and possesses few aspirates. In all probability it is close to the fountain-head of all language—that is, a common-sense arrangement of sounds and chants—and it is more adapted to forest conditions, being 'howled', with the accent on the last syllable of the word, so that the sound echoes over a considerable distance.

The language is richer than might be supposed from the backwardness of the Indians who speak it. Later on, with Luis Antonio's help, I was able to complete a vocabulary of more than eight hundred words. The most surprising feature is that many of the words have an undeniable affinity with the Malayan language. One example is '*man*', the word (indifferently prefixed or suffixed) by which the Shirian refers to a man as such, differentiated from other forms of life or other things, and therefore implying a certain superiority, as in 'sir'. This is its exact equivalent in Malayan. Another example is '*pulipuli*' (moon), which is too close to the Malayan '*pulang*' for the similarity to be accidental. And so on.

I profited from my stay with the Shirians by analysing some of their mental processes, their psychical reflexes and their reactions to conditioned phenomena such as come under the general heading of 'psychotechnics'. I had with me a few sheets of cardboard from the wrappings of my medical supplies, and a stub of pencil (lost for some time, this turned up in the possession of a good lady who was using it—with results that were hard to discern—as a cosmetic). I would write a word in very clear block letters, or I would draw a face, on one side of the sheet. Then I would give the pencil to a Samatari who had been following my actions with the closest interest and ask him to copy exactly what I had written or drawn.

I repeated this test several times, and some curious results were produced. They may contribute something of value towards the analysis of primitive mentalities, and I reproduce them opposite.

With this test, even at a first glance, we can make some contribution towards a definition of the Indians' mental processes, which are still at the stage where their intelligence is wholly analytical. They have not yet developed the power of synthesis, which comes later. This is clearly shown by the Shirian copies of the face. They render all the details, without, however, being able to unite them

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
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He handed his uniform of shirt and trousers back to us and returned to the same state of humble nudity as all those cousins of his who were looking on in silence. 600

Olatiri came back when night was well advanced, using a burning brand for a torch. He was the bearer of five machetes. The final three were beyond recovery, because the Shirians further up the river had gone on a journey to the westward and it was not possible to catch them up. Auai was so anxious for us to believe in the story of the up-river Shirians that he must have been rushing about the forest like a wild boar. We felt quite sorry for the old chap. We threw away five red seeds and gave him a tin of sardines to eat with his cassava bread.

We solemnly declared, to everyone's great relief, that although three machetes were still missing, we would not call up the aeroplane. The three remaining seeds were thrown away, and we all went off to sleep like brothers.

V

With the matter of the theft cleared up, the population of Kirisochi continued to swell, and one day Sempronio too arrived. He came alone, looking most diminutive, with his hair cut *à la* Guayca. His father, who was already with us, announced his coming when he was still a long way off in the long grass of the savannah. The old man took me by the arm, repeating 'Sper, Sper' and pointing to the boy. Not till I recognized who it was did it dawn on me that '*Spvr*' was the Shirian for 'Sempronio'. 123*

The year before we had made a vain search for a giant toad of the type that spouts poison from its cheeks. Sempronio had remembered this, and had one with him now. It was enormous. He must have caught it somewhere on the way here, and now he made his offering with his usual half-animal smile. He had certainly brought in an extraordinary specimen. The poison, which is simply a highly caustic secretion, not dangerous to man, had been removed. I quickly photographed the toad, on the gravelly bank of the river. Sempronio and Nero were also in the photograph, but the latter hid his eyes. He didn't want to be reduced to the same dimensions as the animal. 123* 126 ●

Another visitor was Manuera. His child, according to his own idea, had an eye infection, though it was very difficult to discern. He wanted us to cure it, and we used some ophthalmic drops containing terramycin, with which the father seemed satisfied. 123*

[pp. 153 - 184[185] not processed]

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point, we pronounced that magic word 'work'—so potent that in the very act of pilfering, their hands were stayed.

We had brought with us a flask of mercury, for amalgamating metals, which aroused their curiosity—curiosity which turned to absolute amazement when they picked it up and became aware of its inordinate weight. By some dark and labyrinthine thought-processes, no doubt, they deduced that this terrible liquid constituted a bomb, and they drew back in horror shouting '*Bomba Amio*'.[1]

We didn't disillusion them. A little fear and dread disseminated among our porters might not be entirely without point, considering all the uncertain aspects of the journey and the curious make-up of these Indians. Yes, we said, that is the aeroplane bomb, and it would blow to pieces all the Samatari from the Parima, if they dared show themselves on our route. This greatly reassured the Shirians. At first they had been rather scared of meeting with an enemy, but now they could count on this terrifying weapon we had at our disposal, which would also increase their own prestige in the eyes of the nomad tribes.

That night, there were some strange noises in the hut, about thirty yards away from our hammocks. Something interesting seemed to be happening, so we put out our candle and, through our mosquito nets, watched a curious scene.

The medicine-man was surrounded by the rest of the Shirians. He was in his usual position for exorcism ceremonies—sitting in his hammock with his legs dangling over either side. The chief's wife had a bowl of water and was dissolving something in it—something she was taking from a cluster of banana leaves in her lap. When she had put in enough, she passed the bowl to her husband, who held it firmly, slightly raised. Then he waited. Suddenly, on an unexpectedly powerful note, a chant came from the medicine-man. Then the chief drank long draughts out of the bowl, came down from his hammock, and began to walk with a rhythmic, solemn step, round the fire. All the men then drank in turn: then the women. Then the babies at their breasts were made to touch the bowl with their lips. Now they were all marching behind the chief, with rapid, tiny steps that covered very little ground, while the medicine-man himself jumped from his hammock and brought up the rear.

We were watching the Drinking of the Ashes—a ceremony symbolic of

[1] Their rendering of the Spanish 'avion' (aeroplane bomb).

/434 cont./

199 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
199 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiriana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

● 126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

/435 cont./

126 628 rancherias. For anyone who might be preparing to travel or work in Guaika territory, these relations can be as important as the geographical location of the settlements. If a group of Guaika should be engaged to carry out certain tasks, they might be inclined to work well in certain areas, but doubtless would refuse to enter areas inhabited by their enemies.

126 /436/ On the map of the whole area inhabited by the Guaika and Guajaribo, I have tried to show the approximate limits of the two tribes. The areas which are shaded on the said map correspond to the zones where we have had contact with these tribes on several occasions. The settlements whose names appear underlined, that is to say, El Platanal and Ioeitedi, are native rancherias where we have lived and worked for long periods of time. These settlements continue to be our principal bases of operation. [114]

103 The native names of the principal rivers are as follows:

Orinoco River	Majekodo-ko
Cunucununa River	Ami-ko
Padamo River	Jaiyama-ko
Metacuni River	Wakawaka-ko
Ocamo River	Kia-ko
Mavaca River	Wachewa-ko
Manavichi River	Mata-ko

The native name of the Raudal de Guajaribos /Guaharibo Torrent/ is Kalebakbola.

I have not been able to discover even one name for the hill of Guaiaribo, but the most important peaks, starting below and going up the river, are: Wanidi-mak, Yabitao-mak, Kacholaoa-mak, and Wadubaoa-mak.

Geography

361 A few Guaika /Waica/ settlements are located along the principal rivers and are accessible by means of small boats or canoes with outboard motors. Nevertheless, most of the Guaika settlements are inland and can only be reached after one or more days of travel.

18 Chagnon B-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

and out of the Federal Territory of Amazonas, and to Commander Dr. David Capriles of the Medical Section for assisting me in making these arrangements. I also wish to thank Dr. Armando Caballín T. of the Amazonas District of the Venezuelan Malaria Control Service (Malariología) for generously placing the facilities of that organization at my disposal, and for arranging the purchase and transportation of many of my supplies.

I am personally indebted to Dr. Marcel Roche, Director of the Venezuelan Institute of Scientific Research (I.V.I.C.), and to Dr. Miguel Layrisse, Chairman of the Physiopathology Department of that institute, for their cooperation in and assistance to my field work.

A number of Missionaries gave me invaluable assistance in the Yąnomamö language and generously placed the resources of their missions at my disposal. I particularly wish to thank Mr. James P. Barker and Mr. Cecil Neese of the New Tribes Mission, and Padre Luiz Cocco and Padre José Berno of the Salesian Mission for their generous aid.

I thank Kąobąwä, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi, for his assistance and cooperation in the collection of some of the genealogical data; without his aid my data would have serious gaps.

I wish to thank Dr. James V. Neel, Chairman of the Department of Human Genetics at the University of Michigan, for encouraging and personally supporting my field work, and for generously making departmental office space available

direction, and lies between the Mavaca River and a series of mountains. At a few points the Shukumõna-u may be reached from the Mavaca tributaries in less than a day's walk.

Early maps of Venezuela show the Siapa River extending nearly to the headwaters of the Orinoco River, as the Indians claim the Shukumõna-u does, and lying between the Mavaca River and the mountains that separate Brazil from Venezuela. I have therefore used a 1936 edition of a map published by the Venezuelan National Cartographic Office for the course of the Siapa River, which I take to be the Shukumõna-u of the Yąnomamõ. I have used more recent maps, also obtained from the same office, for the course of the Orinoco, and have drawn the Mavaca River from information I obtained from the Indians and my own exploration of this river up to the village of Iwahikoroba-tedi, which I unsuccessfully attempted to contact in September of 1965. Maps B and C, pp. 54 and 148, are based on these sources.

In reconstructing the history of the village movements, particularly in locating old habitation sites, I have relied on a few well-known geographical landmarks along the Orinoco River. Specifically, two large rapids have guided me; Penascal, above Ruemi-u (Shuwimõwi-bora in Yąnomamõ) and Raudal Guaharibo (Karĩbã-bora in Yąnomamõ) near the present village of Kashorawã-tedi.

I employed three sources of information to locate present villages. First, my own knowledge for those villages I personally visited. Second, information from James P.

126 36 [46] [144] Barker, a member of the New Tribes Mission, who visited a larger number of villages in the course of the 15 years he has lived among the Yąnomamö. Finally, on information [124] obtained from the Indians. Most of the Venezuelan Yąnomamö have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and informants' accounts necessarily must suffice to locate many of the villages. Thus, when I visited villages such as Mąmaribŏwei-tedi or Patanowä-tedi, I had the residents point in the direction of other, uncontacted, villages; I made compass readings of these bearings, noting also the number of "sleeps" required to reach these villages.

174 Fixing the location of old sites geographically was somewhat easier than determining the date of occupation of those sites. A limiting factor in my attempts to obtain [102] detailed chronological movements of particular villages was the poverty of the Yąnomamö language in indicating numbers. The language can express only three numbers: one (moni, mahu, dahiabä), two (porakëbä), and more-than-two (bruka). In establishing dates of specific events, therefore, I have relied almost exclusively on my estimates of the ages of the Indians. By noting also their places of birth, I was able to estimate the length of time each site was occupied before being abandoned.

175 In reconstructing portions of the history of the five villages I have been guided by two historically known events. One event was the arrival of James P. Barker at Mahekodo-tedi in September 1950, the first foreigner to make sustained

10=Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1968) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF FIVE YANOMAMÖ VILLAGES

I shall briefly outline in this chapter the history of the movements of Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Patanowë-tedi, Mŋaribŏwei-tedi and Reyabobŏwei-tedi, including those movements during the fifteen-month period (November 1964 through February 1966) covered by my field work. The historical data I collected on village movements enable me to discuss the village histories from about 1875 to the present.

The first three of the above-mentioned groups lived together at one time and the present residents of these villages are closely related. The last site they occupied as one village was called Mapowei-tedi, and for sake of simplicity I adopt this name in the discussion of their movements up to that point in time. Similarly, the last two villages of the five mentioned above have a common history, being called Paruritawë-tedi immediately prior to their splitting in 1960.

I wish to make several points in the discussion that follows. The histories indicate (1) that villages move only when forced to do so by raids from other villages; (2) that villages are structurally unstable and tend to split into factions because of internal disputes; (3) that the newly-established cognate villages frequently enter into hostilities with each other; and (4) that it is necessary to know the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

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Adaptation

128 THE YĄNOMAMÖ ADAPTATION to their physical, social, and intellectual environments is dealt with in this chapter.

The Physical Environment

131 Kąobawä's village[1] is Upper Bisasi-teri, located at the confluence of the Mavaca
133 and Orinoco Rivers. Like most of the villages in this area, it lies at an altitude of about
361 450 feet. While some villages in Brazil reach 3000 feet in altitude, most Yąnomamö villages are located at much lower elevations (Fig. 2–1).

137 The general area around Kąobawä's village is a low, flat plain interrupted occasionally by gently rolling hills and, more rarely, by a few low mountain ridges. The land is entirely covered with jungle, even the tops of the mountain ridges.

The jungle is relatively dense and characterized by numerous species of palms and hardwood trees. The forest canopy keeps the sunlight from penetrating to the ground, but scrub brush and vines manage to grow in relatively great abundance in most places, making it difficult to walk along the trails. Thorny brush is especially heavy along the banks of streams, where adequate sunlight and a constant supply of water provide ideal circumstances for its growth.

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128 [1]See map, Fig. 2-8. Villages other than Kąobawä's have been included because they are discussed in this
126 and also in a later chapter. Presently occupied villages are indicated in upper-case lettering and by shading. The area shown in this map is uncoplored, except for the zone immediately adjacent to the Orinoco River. The map is, therefore, largely calculated guesswork. To establish dates of occupation I estimated ages of individuals and obtained their stated places of birth. Distance and geographical location were determined by compass readings and measured in steps required to reach the location from a given point. I also visited many of the locations shown. While I was in Brazil in 1967, I checked the map locations with informants there, being encouraged by the fact that they independently gave approximately the same information. Fig. 2-8 is a simplified version of the more detailed map c in my doctoral thesis (Chagnon 1966). For more information regarding the techniques used in making the map, consult the thesis.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The noreshi animals are inherited patrilineally for men and matrilineally for women.[13] Kaobawä, for example, inherited his *noreshi* animal, the black monkey, from his father and transmitted it to his son. All his male kinsmen have the black monkey as their *noreshi*. Bahimi, Kaobawä's wife, has the dog for her *noreshi* animal, as does her mother and her daughter by Kaobawä. The *noreshi* animal of a woman always travels on the ground below the animal of the husband.

Noreshi animals duplicate the behavior of the person to whom they correspond. When Kaobawä goes hunting, so does his *noreshi* animal. When he is sick, so is his *noreshi* animal. If he takes a journey of two days, the animal likewise travels an equal distance, and so forth.

The *noreshi* animal and the person to whom it corresponds are always in complementary distribution. That is, they never come close to each other, for if they should see each other, they would both die. Their mutual existences are coextensive and coterminous: One lives only as long as the other, and both die at precisely the same instant. If a hunter should shoot Kaobawä's *noreshi* animal and kill it, Kaobawä would also be shot and would die. Similarly, if Kaobawä is shot by raiders and killed, his *noreshi* animal would suffer the same fate.

The soul aspect of the *noreshi*, however, can leave the human body at will and wander. Sickness results when the *noreshi* has left the body; unless it is brought back soon, the person will die. The *noreshi* is the vulnerable portion of the complete being, the part that is the target of witchcraft and harmful magic. The shamans (*shabori*) wage constant war against the evil demons (*hekura*) of enemy groups who have been sent to capture the *noreshi* parts of children. They, in turn, send their own *hekura* to capture the *noreshi* of enemy children; the wars that take place between men who said to kill are likewise carried over into the domain of the supernatural.

When sickness is deemed to be the result of soul loss, the people who are closely related to the sick person hunt for his *noreshi*. I participated in one of these soul hunts. Kaobawä's group had set up a temporary camp across the river from its main village site, as they suspected raiders would attack them. While they were camped in their temporary village, one of the children became ill, and her malady was thought to be caused by soul loss. When the threat of raiders passed, the temporary camp was abandoned and the group moved back into the main village.

The child's condition worsened, so a group of women and children returned to the temporary camp, suspecting that the *noreshi* had remained there. I went along and, with the others, cut a branch from a shrub and began sweeping the site and calling for the *noreshi* to return. We swept the entire area and converged at one point. Everybody was convinced that the *noreshi* had been herded into this central point. We then lured the *noreshi* back across the river and into the body of the sick child.

The vulnerability of the *noreshi* to magical spells is best examplified by the fact that the shamans of every village spend most of their time chanting to the *hekura* (demons) with the intention of persuading them either to attack the *noreshi* of other (enemy) children or to drive off the *hekura* sent by enemy shamans. Again, the Yanomamö used two of their concepts of the soul to describe photographs and tape recordings. They were very hostile to me when I attempted to take photographs, especially of children, because

[13]The inheritance of these "alter-ego" animals has nothing to do with marriage rules and patrilineage exogamy.

I, in effect, was capturing the *nowahi* of the child: A photograph was called *nowahi*.[13] Tape recordings, in contrast, were not considered to be harmful. If anything, they enjoyed having me record their music and discussions, and always demanded that I play them back for everyone to hear. The word used to describe a recording was *no ahaahiki*, the part of the soul that wanders in the jungle after the body is cremated. In short, only the *nowahi* aspect of the soul is vulnerable.

TREATMENT OF THE DEAD If a person dies in an epidemic, his body, along with those of the others who died, is placed on a tree platform and allowed to decay. After several months, an old man is appointed to strip the remaining decayed flesh from the bones and the bones are then cremated. The Yąnomamö fear the smoke that is produced when a body is cremated, and since epidemics are feared, they do not take a chance on contaminating the houses, implements, and persons with the smoke produced by the burning bodies.

Under normal circumstances, the body of the deceased is placed on a pyre of logs, covered with additional wood, and allowed to burn until nothing but the large bones are left. The burning takes place in the village, usually in the afternoon. The children and women leave, as they are susceptible to contamination by the smoke. They all bathe carefully to wash off any possible contamination. Even the weapons are washed.

After the coals are cool enough to handle, the relatives sift the ashes meticulously with shallow, loosely woven baskets, collecting every bit of bone they can find. The charcoal of the wood is burned, lest a small piece of bone be mixed in with it. The accumulated bones are then ground in a log mortar, hollowed out by means of alternate burning and chopping. These logs are about 4 feet long and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. For grinding the bones of a male, white buzzard down is usually attached around the circumference of the mortar, and curved lines painted on the mortar with red pigment. The mortars used for females are not decorated as elaborately, but usually have decorative fibers of a palm tree, the kind used by women to decorate their perforated ears. Circles and dots are painted on the mortars of females.

The charred bones of the dead are placed, a few at a time, into the mortar and a long, slender pole is used as the pestle. These poles are about 6 feet long, 2 or 3 inches in diameter, and bear painted decorations. The bones are crushed into a black powder by a young man, while the relatives of the deceased sit around the mortar and weep profusely. The ground ashes are then transferred to hollow gourds through a small hole and sealed with wax and buzzard down. A little is left in the mortar and eaten, mixed with boiled plantain soup, on the day of the ceremony. The mortar is always burned after a ceremony.

About a year later, the rest of the ashes are eaten during a feast, again mixed with boiled plantain soup. Occasionally, they will deliberately save some of the ashes, especially ashes of those who were killed in raids, making use of them for a number of ceremonies. Before each attempt at getting revenge, the raiders eat the ashes of their slain kinsman. This puts them into the appropriate state of rage for the business of killing enemies.

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[13]Many informants gave a more pragmatic explanation of their fear of the camera. They did not want to be reminded of their dead kinsmen, and if I had a photograph of the person, this would be an extremely offensive reminder to his relatives that their loved one was dead.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

FaSiDa is the same as MoBrDa, and both are called by the same term, *suaböya*. Hence, to present the above examples as the Yąnomamö would explain them I would not have had to distinguish MoBrDa from FaSiDa, but rather would have had to use just one term; in every case presented, men married their *suaböya*. (This can be seen in the model shown in Fig. 3-1; each male married a woman who was simultaneously FaSiDa and MoBrDa, that is, *suaböya*, to him.)

Cases I and J: These are a little unusual, but I include them to give some idea of both the potentials of the Yąnomamö kinship system and the people who use it.

In case I, individual II-2 is the headman of Lower Bisaasi-teri, Kąobawä's "father." He has considerable authority in the group. He arbitrarily redefined some of his classificatory daughters as sisters *so that his sons could marry their daughters*. Thus, the marriage of IV-1 to IV-2 is now considered to be legitimate because IV-1 could call his wife's mother his mother-in-law (FaSi), since his father redefined her as sister. Otherwise, it would be incest. Most of the people adjusted their kinship usage to fit the circumstances, but Kąobawä, who gave me the details of the manipulation, refused to adjust his own terms. The redefined women in question are his sisters, and he refused to call them FaSi.

I came upon this, and several identical cases, when I learned that the kinship usage between specific individuals did not reflect the equations implied by genealogies. (After I had collected extensive genealogies on four villages, I spent a considerable amount of time collecting kinship terms from specific individuals for every one of the some two thousand individuals included in the genealogies. This served as a cross-check on the genealogies, but uncovered a large number of incestuous and other interesting marriages that I might not have pinpointed otherwise.)

Case J brings out the full potential of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship. The man (III-1) married his *suaböya* according to the Yąnomamö, although he was not related to her by any blood ties. The justification for the marriage is the fact that III-1 calls all the women to whom his father and his father's brothers are married by the term for mother. Hence, he married his MoBrDa.

THE LINEAGE It was shown in Chapter 1 that villages fission to produce new groups. One of the consequences of this pattern is that in a given area there will be a number of villages whose members can trace genealogical ties to each other because they have common male ancestors. Because of the classificatory nature of Yąnomamö kinship, the interrelated members of two different villages will use kinship terms for each other that imply a closeness of relationship. Thus, Kąobawä has "brothers" in all of the villages that have a common history with his own. These men are usually parallel cousins one or two degrees removed, but brothers in terminological categories. (The lineage to which Kąobawä belongs is shown on Fig. 3-5, discussed later as the *Shs* lineage.)

The Yąnomamö do not name their lineages. I have named all the significant lineages after particular male individuals, usually a long-since-dead male whose generation is the last for which I have meaningful genealogies. Thus, the *Shs* lineage is named after a man called *Shamathiadima*, long dead. He and his brothers left many male descendants who today are distributed in several villages. In the history of the movements of Kąobawä's village, the *Shs* lineage has figured prominently in the affairs of the group. Similarly, the *Hor* lineage is named after a man called *Horokorishiwä*. The *Shs* and *Hor* lineages have a long history of marriage alliance and the living members of these two lineages constitute the greater fraction of the populations of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri,

722 *728 662 976 Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowã was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

721 726 *728 The raid Kąobawã organized to revenge Damowã's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõmaribõwei-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *unyu itow* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women 579 left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

726 On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowã-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawã's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamö are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

825 The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At 123 this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own 126 hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawã stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5–2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the